

ANOTHER LECTIONARY OF THE "ATELIER" OF THE PALAIOLOGINA, VAT. GR. 352*

KATHLEEN MAXWELL

Hugo Buchthal and Hans Belting recently published an outstanding group of fifteen Byzantine manuscripts of the late thirteenth century which are related either by their ornament or by their script.¹ The authors divided these biblical or liturgical manuscripts into two groups on the basis of the style of their script: one consisting of seven Gospel manuscripts, a New Testament, and three Lectionaries and another comprising a Praxapostolos and three Psalters.² The extraordinary quality of some members of the group can be gauged by the fact that one manuscript, Vat. gr. 1208, has been ranked with the finest products in the history of Byzantine illumination.³ The learned bibliophile, Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina, has been presented as the most logical candidate for the role of group or "atelier" patron.⁴ Another Lectionary

manuscript may now be attributed to the first group.⁵ Presently in the Vatican Library (Vat. gr. 352), the manuscript is written on 244 folios of fine white parchment measuring 321 × 239 mm.⁶ As is true of the three Lectionaries cited by Buchthal and Belting, the text of Vat. gr. 352 is divided into two columns with generous margins and, likewise, it contains solely ornamental illumination.⁷ The

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¹H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy*, DOS, XVI (Washington, D.C., 1978), 4–5. The fifteen manuscripts (and their abbreviations) are as follows: Athos, Dionysiou 5 (D); Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana Plut. VI, 28 (F); Athos, Lavra A 2 (L); Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. 541 (M); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 31 (O); Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1158 (V); Location unknown (X); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 525 (B); Mount Sinai, gr. 228 (C); Athos, Iviron 30 m (I); Athos, Stauronikita 27 (S); Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1208 (Vat); Athos, Stauronikita 46 (A); Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 21 (N); and Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 260 (P).

²*Ibid.*, 4–5, D, F, L, M, O, V, and X comprise the Gospel manuscripts; B is the New Testament; C, I, and S are the three Lectionaries; Vat is the Praxapostolos; and A, N, and P are the Psalters.

³*Ibid.*, 13 ff. and 78–96.

⁴Vat. gr. 1158 (V) has monograms on fols. 5^v and 6^r which indicate that the manuscript belonged to a female member of the Palaiologan family. Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina was first suggested by H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 67 ff; cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 6 and note 20, and 99 ff. Theodora was

the niece of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologus. Cf. *ibid.*, 100 ff. for an excellent summary of Theodora's activities. Cf. also D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantecuzenus): ca. 1100–1460*, DOS, XI (Washington, D. C., 1968), 16 ff; and D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), 173 ff. and cf. *infra*, p. 51. Finally, Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 91 ff., exercise caution in the use of the terms "atelier" and "scriptorium" with regard to this group of manuscripts. There is little evidence that the scribes and painters worked together in the same studio. The manuscripts were probably completed within the span of a few years (cf. *infra*, note 63).

⁵*Ibid.*, on p. 95 the authors discuss several manuscripts which are paleographically related to the group. The most important examples are Vat. gr. 356 and Vat. gr. 1523 (*ibid.*, pls. 1 and 65). They also indicate that they are not aware of any other manuscript whose ornament is related to the group and which shares the same script.

⁶R. Devreese, ed., *Biblioteca Vaticana. Codices Vaticani Graeci, II: Codices 330–603 in Bibliotheca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1937), 33 ff. Devreese dated the manuscript to the 11th–12th centuries; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. E. Miller, 4th ed., vol. I (London, New York, Cambridge, 1894), 353, dated the manuscript to the 11th century; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, I (Leipzig, 1909), 434, dated it to the 13/14th centuries; K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, I: Gesamtübersicht* (Berlin, 1963), 237 (I 540) dated the manuscript to the 13th century. Cf. G. Prato, "Scritture librerie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli," *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 3 (1979), 158 and note 26, for other examples of manuscripts in the group which have been dated too early. I am grateful to Profs. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Robert Nelson for bringing this source to my attention. For further bibliography on the manuscript, see P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ST, 261 (Vatican City, 1970), 415 and Appendix herein. Note, however, that the reference to W. A. Baehrens, *Überlieferung und Textgeschichte der lateinisch erhaltenen Origeneshomilien zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1916), 173 is irrelevant.

⁷Vat. gr. 352's ruling pattern is 20C2 in J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1976), 6. The justification mea-

manuscript's importance is enhanced by the presence of a non-scribal colophon of the year 1375 which indicates its exact location at this date. The present analysis will be concerned first with securing Vat. gr. 352's position as the fourth Lectionary manuscript of the first group through a comparative study of its ornamental headpieces, illuminated initials, and script style. The second half of the paper will examine several entries in the Menologium texts of the Lectionary manuscripts and conclude with a brief consideration of the historical circumstances and implications of Vat. gr. 352's colophon.

ORNAMENTAL HEADPIECES

The title for the Easter Sunday readings on folio 1 is framed by a magnificent, two-column, rectangular headpiece (fig. 1).⁸ Its blue, red, coral, green, and gold enamel-like colors are accentuated by the placement of the major palmettes against a white painted ground. This combination results in a jewel-like impression and, for this reason, has been referred to as a "metallic" palmette by Buchthal and Belting.⁹ It is a unique feature of the atelier and its presence has been noted in manuscripts of both groups. The closest parallel for the design of this headpiece is supplied by folio 1 of the Sinai Lectionary 228 (C).¹⁰ Vat. gr. 352 fills an important gap here in that it is more similar to C than the material which Buchthal and Belting had at their disposal.¹¹ The differences between folio 1 of C and fig. 1 are slight and include inconsistencies in the contour of the white ground (i.e., vacillations between a circular and a heart-shaped silhouette) of Vat. gr. 352's metallic palmettes and the latter's addition of a sixth palmette to the width of the design. Otherwise, even minor details, including the external side and corner palmettes, appear to be identical. Folio 189 of C also furnishes a strong formal parallel, and some elements of the design are repeated in a pylon headpiece on folio 104 of Ivron 30 m (I).¹²

sures 205 × 145 mm. Fols. 193–200 (quire $\kappa\epsilon$) and fols. 217 and 224 (a bifolium) are of a different, more complex lineation. The quires consist of quaternions and the quire signatures ($\alpha\lambda\alpha$) are located in the left margin of the recto side of the first folio of each quire. Vat. gr. 352's dimensions and lineation are especially comparable to the Lectionaries C and I. For a discussion of the three Lectionary manuscripts of the atelier, cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 9 ff.

⁸The headpiece measures 57.5 × 145 mm. The left side has sustained minor damage from rubbing.

⁹Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 76 ff.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pl. 32a.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 87.

¹²*Ibid.*, pls. 33b and 36c.

The four remaining headpieces maintain an excellent standard of quality, but are smaller in scale and only one column in width. The pylon headpiece marking the beginning of the readings from the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 44) is made up of similarly colored palmettes circumscribed by a heart-shaped lozenge (fig. 2).¹³ The overall proportions of the headpiece find their best parallel on folio 44^v of Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 21 (N), while the use of alternating horizontal rows of heart-shaped palmettes can best be compared to those found on folio 262 of the same manuscript.¹⁴ The motif was, however, a popular one in the atelier and was even selected as a framing element for a miniature that was never completed on folio 128^v of Athos, Stauronikita 46 (A).¹⁵ One might also note that the flanking ornamental gold spiral seen in figure 2 has many points of comparison within the atelier, including the manuscript in Paris just cited.¹⁶ The slightly smaller pylon headpiece at the beginning of the readings from the Gospel of Luke (fol. 69) in Vat. gr. 352 likewise utilizes a very common atelier motif (fig. 3). The Gospel manuscript whose present whereabouts are unknown (X) provides one example for comparison, but many more could be cited.¹⁷ The use of a colored leaf in the ornamental gold spiral also has parallels in examples published by Buchthal and Belting.¹⁸

The gold band marking the beginning of the readings from the Gospel of Mark (fol. 99) is of special interest in that it is a variation of the pseudo-Kufic type which occurs only rarely in the atelier (fig. 4).¹⁹ These ornamental characters are executed in gold with blue used only to accentuate the circular element at the top. The design utilized in Vat. gr. 352 finds its closest parallel in folio 261 of C.²⁰ Both of these examples stand somewhat apart from the more elaborate examples found on folio

¹³The remainder of the headpieces (with the exception of the gold pseudo-Kufic headband on fol. 99) measure 32.5 × 65 mm. This headpiece and that following on fol. 69 (fig. 3) are exceptional in their state of preservation. Unfortunately, that on fol. 179 (fig. 5) has sustained minor damage from water staining.

¹⁴Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pls. 57a and 60a.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pl. 52a. The miniature was, in fact, never initiated.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pls. 8b (O); 36a (I); 57a (N); etc.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pl. 23c.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pl. 36e (I), while a grander version is found throughout Vat (pl. 49 ff.) and N (pl. 56 ff.).

¹⁹Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, note the following examples of the pseudo-Kufic type: fol. 261 of C (p. 120); fol. 157 of Vat (pp. 87, 118 and pl. 45b); and fol. 289^v of N (p. 114 and pl. 60c). A microfilm of the Lectionary manuscript C indicates that two additional small-scale, pseudo-Kufic examples serve as headpieces in the Menologium text for the months of November (fol. 274^v) and June (fol. 304^v).

²⁰Unpublished, cf. note 19.

289^v of N and folio 157 of Vat. gr. 1208 (Vat). The pylon headpiece at the beginning of the Menologium text (fol. 179) also employs a standard atelier motif (fig. 5). Freestanding palmettes alternate with those enclosed by circles. The same design is used as a framing motif for a rectangular headpiece on folio 119 of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 31 (O) and in the Matthew headpiece of X.²¹

ILLUMINATED INITIALS

The text of Vat. gr. 352 is profusely ornamented with illuminated initials. The majority of these are *taus* and *epsilons* in accordance with the introductory passages for the Lectionary readings. The first line of script following each initial and the lesson indicators in the top margin of the Synaxarium have been executed in gold ink and contribute to the luxurious appearance of the page. The decorated initials of Vat. gr. 352 can be broadly classified under four headings. An example of the first category is found in the *epsilon* of folio 1 (fig. 1). Unfortunately, it has suffered from flaking; a *theta* on folio 2^v (fig. 6), of the same style, has survived in a much better state of preservation.²² The outer circle is painted bright royal blue with white highlights. The two internal semicircular elements are executed in hunter green while the four internal cardinal points and the central motif have colorful orange highlights. The contours demarcating each section of the design are executed in gold. This initial type is found only in the first quire of Vat. gr. 352, and with few exceptions it appears to be a style limited to the second group of deluxe manuscripts of the atelier.²³ Initials of this type are seen on folios 133^v and 139^v of Vat and on folio 323 of Vat. gr. 1158 (V).²⁴ Folio 29^v of P supplies an *omicron* in this style while N offers no less than four examples in its text.²⁵ Three additional examples are included in the first group of manuscripts. Two are found in the Lectionary C on folios 2^v and 41.²⁶ The former is of special interest in that it is used for the same textual passage as that of figure 6 in

Vat. gr. 352. The third example is seen at the beginning of the Gospel of John in X.²⁷

The second category of initials is actually limited to one example and is also located in the first quire of Vat. gr. 352 on folio 2 (fig. 7). The blue outer circle of an *omicron* is outlined externally and internally in gold and the small dots are alternately painted in red and blue and also have gold contours. In another interesting coincidence this initial is again used to introduce the same text in the Lectionary C on folio 1^v.²⁸ Related, but not identical examples are limited to the second group. These are found on folio 17^v of P and folio 142^v of Vat.²⁹

The splendid gold and colored *epsilon* and *tau* initials of figs. 2 through 5 are certainly the most popular style and are found throughout the manuscript. Numerous parallels for this third type can be cited in many manuscripts of the atelier published by Buchthal and Belting.³⁰ One is struck by the consistently high quality of their execution. An oddity might be pointed out however; occasionally care has not been taken to add what is presumably the last touch to these initials—the white highlights. In Vat gr. 352 these unhighlighted examples have a codicological correlative in that there are whole quires in which they have been omitted (quires β through ϵ ; i.e., fols. 9–40).³¹ The fact that some of the most important examples, that is, those associated with headpieces, were not highlighted remains enigmatic (e.g., figs. 4 and 5).

The final type of illuminated initial, and second in popularity, is a simple curvilinear gold initial which is occasionally highlighted with color in such a way as to produce an effect similar to that of the pseudo-Kufic headpiece which is located at the beginning of the readings from Mark (fig. 4). Again, a codicological parallel is noted in that at one point an entire quire is limited to this exclusive variation (fols. 145–152).³²

The preceding discussion of ornamental headpieces and illuminated initials allows us to locate more precisely Vat. gr. 352's position among the Lectionary manuscripts of the first group. Vat. gr. 352 cannot compete, for example, with the luxu-

²¹ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pls. 9b and 22b.

²² The flaking here reveals that a red-orange base was used wherever the use of gold was anticipated. There is no evidence of underpainting beneath the actual colors.

²³ A third example of this style of initial is found on fol. 8^v in Vat. gr. 352.

²⁴ The parallels in Vat were noted by the author at the Vatican Library. For a reproduction on fol. 323 of V, cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pl. 17b.

²⁵ The parallels in P were confirmed by the author at the Bibliothèque Nationale. For reproductions of N, cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pls. 56b, 58b, 59c, and 60a.

²⁶ Fol. 2^v of C is unpublished. For a reproduction of fol. 41, cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pl. 32b.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 23c.

²⁸ Unpublished.

²⁹ Fol. 17^v of P is unpublished; cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage* pl. 45a, for fol. 142^v of Vat.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, e.g., fol. 128 of N (pl. 58c); fol. 200 of V (pl. 17a); X (pl. 23b); fol. 40 of I (pl. 36b) and fol. 316 of C (pl. 33c).

³¹ Vat. gr. 1208 also has a number of unhighlighted, colored initials including those on fols. 139^v, 155^v, 201^v, 273^v, 334, etc.

³² Parallels for the gold initials were observed in Paris gr. 21 (N) on fols. 24, 79^v, 82, etc., and throughout the microfilm copies of C and S. These initials always feature a red-orange base (cf. *supra*, note 22).

rious magnitude and variety of the ornamental headpieces of the Sinai Lectionary (C).³³ C's headpieces can be characterized as including representations of some of the finest designs of the atelier. This variety is not limited to matters of format (rectangular, square-cum-quatrefoil, square, and one pseudo-Kufic type), but extends to the techniques utilized as well. The evaluation of C as the finest Lectionary manuscript remains unchallenged in spite of the significant parallels it shares with Vat. gr. 352 in the use and distribution of initial and headpiece types.³⁴ A comparison between Vat. gr. 352 and the Iviron Lectionary (I) is less straightforward in its conclusions. The headpieces in I are limited to two types: three are square-cum-quatrefoils and two are pylons.³⁵ Any attempt to assign priority to one of these two manuscripts should take into consideration whether or not the variety of formats exhibited in Vat. gr. 352's headpieces (with special emphasis on the large, two-column, rectangular headpiece on fol. 1 and the rare pseudo-Kufic writing of the gold headband on fol. 99) (figs. 1 and 4) can compete with the overall excellence of I's headpieces. The third Lectionary, Stauronikita 27 (S), is distinguished by the presence of two, two-column, rectangular headpieces (fols. 3 and 35).³⁶ The competition is less daunting than this would otherwise imply in that the four remaining headpieces are rather small and insignificant while one of the larger headpieces (fol. 3) would have been disqualified from the group by Buchthal and Belting save for the inclusion of two metallic palmettes in its design.³⁷ In addition, the initials of the Stauronikita Lectionary are limited to the more common third and fourth categories described above.³⁸ This information further enhances the special relationship of Vat. gr. 352 and C.

In concluding this section it should be stressed that every aspect of the headpieces and initials of Vat. gr. 352 has been successfully compared to the ornament of some of the most illustrative members of the atelier defined by Buchthal and Belting.

³³ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pls. 32a through 33c.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 87 and 89 for Buchthal's and Belting's evaluation of C as a deluxe edition of the atelier. Cf. p. 90 for a discussion of the integral quality of C to the group via its relationship with X, O, and V.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 36. It might also be noted here that for reasons discussed below in note 50, the author did not have access to a microfilm of I. Comparisons were thus limited to those reproductions provided by Buchthal and Belting.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. 34 and 35.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 89 and 96. The more individualized character of S's headpieces has led Buchthal and Belting to assign this manuscript a slightly later date than that of C and I.

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 49.

ing. Its decoration has nothing in common with the non-inclusive ornament of some members of the group and its place as the fourth Lectionary manuscript of the first group is thereby confirmed.³⁹

PALEOGRAPHY

The script of the atelier defined by Buchthal and Belting features an archaizing style intent on imitating the beauty and legibility of the eleventh-century "pearl" script.⁴⁰ The vast majority of codices featuring this archaizing trend are religious or liturgical texts and few of them can be dated before the Palaiologan triumph of 1261.⁴¹ The script is spacious, elegant, and uniform with characteristically few abbreviations (excepting the *nomina sacra*). So facile were these scribes in imitating their prototypes that their thirteenth-century date is betrayed only through careful observation of post mid-eleventh-century interpolations which include influences of the "Fettaugen-Mode,"⁴² a higher proportion of majuscules, the regular presence of the *iota* subscript, and perhaps, a lack of spontaneity or a formal rigidity.⁴³

Vat. gr. 352's script is in every way comparable to the most representative examples of Buchthal's and Belting's first group, O, V, X, C, S, and I, and has nothing in common with the non-inclusive script of F (Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana Plut. VI, 28) or M (Venice, Bibl. Marciana gr. 541).⁴⁴ Nor does it feature the "utility" or minutely-scaled script

³⁹ The ornament of F (Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana Plut. VI, 28) and M (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. 541) is not related to the group. Cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 5 and pls. 2-4 and 30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5, 9, 91, and 94 for paleography discussion and further bibliography. Also cf. H. Hunger, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Gebrauchsschrift zur Blütezeit der Fettaugenmode: Der Schreiber des Cod. Vindob. Theol. gr. 303," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, no. 559 (Paris, 1977), 283-90. The following discussion is heavily indebted to Prato, "Scritture librerie arcaizzanti" (*supra*, note 6), 151-93, esp. 158 ff.

⁴¹ The "revival" versus "survival" aspects of the archaizing style are explored by G. Cavallo, "Fenomenologia 'libraria' della maiuscola greca: stile, canone, mimesi grafica," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 19 (1972), 131-40; Hunger, "Archaisierende Minuskel," 283 ff; and Prato, "Scritture librerie arcaizzanti," 152 ff. and 189 ff.

⁴² H. Hunger, "Die sogennante Fettaugen-Mode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *ByzF*, 4 (1972), 105-13; and *idem*, "Archaisierende Minuskel," 284-88; and Prato, "Scritture librerie arcaizzanti," 185.

⁴³ Prato, "Scritture librerie arcaizzanti," 185 and Hunger, "Archaisierende Minuskel," 285.

⁴⁴ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, for O, pls. 8b, 9b, 10b, and 11b; for V, pls. 16 and 17; for X, pls. 22b and 23; for C, pls. 32 and 33; for S, pls. 34 and 35; for I, pl. 36; for F and M, p. 5 and pls. 2-4 and 30.

of L (Athos, Lavra A 2) or B (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 525).⁴⁵

Not only is the basic script comparable, but so too are some of the more decorative passages introducing the divisions of the text. The title written within the large headpiece at the beginning of Vat. gr. 352 (fig. 1) can be compared in its use of tall, thin uncials and the frequent stacking of letters to the same passage on folio 1 of C.⁴⁶ An intimate relationship has already been demonstrated between the two headpieces. A comparable script is found below the quatrefoil headpiece on folio 1 of the Iviron Lectionary.⁴⁷ The gold title beneath the headpiece at the beginning of the Menologium text in Vat. gr. 352 (fig. 5) is not only paleographically comparable to the same passage on folio 218 of S, but even minor details such as the raised δ of *ινδλικτον* are striking in their similarity.⁴⁸

THE TEXT OF VAT. GR. 352

A Lectionary is comprised of two major parts. The first is known as the Synaxarium and its lessons are organized according to the moveable or ecclesiastical calendar, beginning with the variable date for Easter Sunday. Approximately 40 percent of Synaxaria contain the lessons for every day of the week while about 60 percent include only the Saturday-Sunday lessons. Both types are highly standardized and in this respect are quite different from the second part of the Lectionary, the Menologium. The Menologium contains the Gospel passages for the immovable or fixed feasts, which correspond to the Byzantine civil calendar beginning on 1 September and ending on 31 August. These Gospel passages are chosen according to the particular saint's day or festival being celebrated. Outside of the readings for the major festivals, local traditions may have some bearing on both the selection of saints to be venerated and in the choice of accompanying scriptural passages.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11, 94; and pls. 37 and 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 32a.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 36a.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 35c.

⁴⁹ Cf. esp. E. C. Colwell and D. W. Riddle, eds., *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, I: *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (Chicago, 1933) 4–5; J. Duplacy, "Les lectionnaires et l'édition du Nouveau Testament grec," *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R. P. Bédé Rigaux* (Brussels, 1970), 519 ff; B. M. Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionen*, ed. K. Aland (Berlin and New York, 1972), 482; and M. W. Redus, *The Text of the Major Festivals of the Menologion in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament*, ed. E. C. Colwell and D. W. Riddle, II, no. 2 (Chicago, 1936), *passim*.

Research on the Menologium texts of the four Lectionary manuscripts of the first group was initiated in the hope of securing more precise information with regard to the intentions or identification of the patron.⁵⁰ It is known, for example, that although the thirteenth century does not generally represent an auspicious time for hagiographical writing, the major exception to this trend was the work of the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus (1283–1289).⁵¹ Theodora Palaiologina Raoulaina, Buchthal's and Belting's proposed patron of the atelier, was on very close terms with him, and one indication of their association can be gauged from the fact that shortly after Gregory's resignation in 1289 he moved into the *monydron* of Aristine which was restored for that purpose by Theodora.⁵² The *monydron* is said to have been located very near Theodora's own monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei which she restored and retired to in 1285 under the religious name of Kyriake.⁵³ Theodora herself was responsible for writing the biographies of Saints Theodore and Theophanes, the *Graptoi* of the iconoclastic persecution of the ninth century.⁵⁴ These circumstances suggest the possibility that the Menologium text of a manuscript commissioned by Theodora might in some way reflect her extraordinary background in hagiography.⁵⁵ The feasts

⁵⁰ This research was facilitated by the remarkable cooperation of Mr. Richard Weis, Director of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center for Preservation and Research in Claremont, Calif. Mr. Weis volunteered to purchase microfilm copies of Vat. gr. 352 and Athos, Stauronikita 27. The Sinai Lectionary 228 was already available in the collection. In the process of ordering these manuscripts it became apparent that the Gregory/Aland number assigned to the other Lectionary of the group, Iviron 30 m, was, in fact, incorrect. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 106 (following Aland, *Liste*, 114), cite *e* 998 as the appropriate classification number. This is unlikely in that the "e" prefix is reserved for Gospel manuscripts whereas an "l" prefix is assigned to Lectionary manuscripts. In addition, the dimensions, lineation, and foliation linked to *e* 998 by Aland do not correspond to those of Iviron 30 m as reported by Buchthal and Belting. The process, then, of tracking down and ordering a microfilm of the manuscript became virtually impossible.

⁵¹ H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 697.

⁵² J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: Saint-André de Crisei," *EO*, 13 (1910), 85; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 56.

⁵³ Polemis, *The Doukai* (*supra*, note 4), 174; Pargoire, "Constantinople: St. André de Crisei," 85; and Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 32.

⁵⁴ F. Halkin, *BHG*³, no. 1793; Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 698, also characterized this scholarly activity on the part of a woman as highly unusual; and Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 100.

⁵⁵ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 81 ff. and 101, noted, however, serious flaws in the text of two Gospels (X and V) and one Psalter (N) of the group and concluded that textual concerns were of secondary importance in the preparation of these manuscripts.

of St. Andrew in Krisei and Saints Theodore and Theophanes are typically celebrated in the Constantinopolitan text of the Menologium. The special relationship of Theodora in regard to these saints left open the possibility that any of these entries may be singled out for special attention through the use of either chrysography or ornament. Evidence of this type would be most helpful in substantiating the proposed connection between Theodora and the atelier.

Microfilm copies of three Lectionary manuscripts—Vat. gr. 352, Sinai 228, and Stauronikita 27—indicate that their Menologium texts are not identical although all fall well within the classification of “Constantinopolitan.”⁵⁶ The manuscripts may themselves differentiate in the number of saints mentioned on any particular day, in the length of each entry, or in the order in which they are listed. These variations demonstrate that a direct copy relationship cannot be visualized for any of the three available Menologium texts. An investigation of the entries for the three saints associated with Theodora will serve to underline these conclusions.

The feast of St. Andrew in Krisei, for example, is usually celebrated sometime between 17 and 20 October.⁵⁷ In Vat. gr. 352 (fol. 194^v) this saint is cited as the second entry on 17 October. In the Sinai Lectionary (fol. 274) and the Stauronikita Lectionary (fol. 239^v) the feast is celebrated on 20 October and in both cases also listed as the second entry.⁵⁸ The feast of St. Andrew in Krisei, then, received anything but preferential treatment in the Menologium texts and there is no indication of special ornamentation.

The feasts of Saints Theodore and Theophanes *Graptoi* are scheduled to be celebrated on 27/28 December and 11 October, respectively.⁵⁹ Theodore is listed as the second entry on 27 December

⁵⁶ Duplacy, “Les Lectionnaires” (*supra*, note 49), 524–45, classifies both Stauronikita 27 and Sinai gr. 228 as having «majoritaire» texts. Please note that Stauronikita 27’s Gregory/Aland no. on p. 524 is incorrectly stated as *l* 145 and should be *l* 745. Sinai 228 (p. 525) is referred to solely by its Gregory/Aland no. *l* 862 rather than by its shelf number. Cf. *supra*, note 50, for the difficulties encountered in ordering a microfilm copy of Ivron 30 m.

⁵⁷ A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1937), 359 and 378 note 2, lists the feast of St. Andrew in Krisei as one of two possible choices for 19 October, and further notes that in twelve manuscripts it is found on 17 October and in only four examples on 20 October. Gregory, *Textkritik*, I, 369, lists the feast on 20 October.

⁵⁸ In Vat. gr. 1523, the Lectionary manuscript considered and later dismissed by Buchthal and Belting (cf. *supra*, note 5), the entry for 17 October appears to have been overlooked and there is no further evidence of an entry for St. Andrew in Krisei.

⁵⁹ Halkin, *BHG*, no. 1793.

in Vat. gr. 352 (fol. 217) and on 28 December in Sinai 228 (fol. 287). He is not cited in the entries for either day in the Stauronikita Lectionary. Theophanes is the first of two entries on 11 October in Sinai 228 (fol. 271^v) and the second entry for the same day in Vat. gr. 352 (fol. 192^v). In Stauronikita 27 he is also given second place, but on 12 October (fol. 236^v).⁶⁰

The lack of fanfare with regard to those entries which might have held special favor with Theodora by no means disassociates her from the atelier.⁶¹ If the Lectionaries were commissioned by her with the intention of being donated to a variety of religious establishments, then there is no compelling reason for suggesting that the aforementioned saints ought to have received special attention. One can only surmise that none of the three manuscripts examined above was intended for use in her foundation, St. Andrew in Krisei. The results of this investigation of the Menologium texts reaffirm Buchthal’s and Belting’s conclusion that, for reasons which are not entirely clear, Theodora did not choose to wield a very exacting hand over the textual contents of the products she commissioned.⁶²

COLOPHON

The non-scribal colophon of Vat. gr. 352 was added to the manuscript approximately one hundred years after it was completed.⁶³ Its impor-

⁶⁰ I am not aware of any other case where the feast of this saint is celebrated on 12 October.

⁶¹ G. Vikan, review of Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, in *ArtB*, 63 (1981), 325 ff., esp. 326–27, has raised important questions regarding Theodora’s role as atelier patron.

⁶² Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 101.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6, 7 and note 23, and 100. A date in the vicinity of 1285 has been argued for the “atelier” on both stylistic and paleographic grounds. F also contains a colophon of this date, although it is written over an erasure. Theodora’s death in 1300 has been used as an absolute terminus ante quem. The colophon was first transcribed (and translated into Italian) by G. C[ozza]-L[uzi], “Donazione fatta nell’anno 1375,” *Bessarione*, 6 (1899), 619–20; Nikos A. Bees, *Διορθώσεις και παρατηρήσεις εις ἀμειρωτήριον τοῦ 1375 ἔτους πρὸς τὴν ἐν Μυστρῶν μονὴν τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Βροντοχίου, Νέα Σιών*, 5 (1907), 241–48 offers a more accurate transcription and attempts to identify some of the individuals named in the colophon. More important, he recognized that the church mentioned in the colophon was located in Mistra. The colophon was transcribed by Bees (pp. 247–48) as follows:

“†Ἡμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου [Τ]σ[α]ούσιος καὶ στρατοπεδάρχης οἱ Ἀκροκόνδυλοι, κοντόσταυλος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος καὶ κοντόσταυλος ὁ Γεωργιτζόπουλος καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ χοράφια τὰ ποτιστικά τὰ ὄσα ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν Τέρκοβαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Βροτοχίου, τὰ ὅποια εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίῃ(;) τῆς Πενεᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν γράμμα ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου ὡς ἴνα μηδὲν ἔχη χάρι ἀπε . . . ἄδειαν ἴνα ἐπιτη πλέον

tance lies in the fact that it localizes the manuscript in the year 1375 and thus provides the only information we have as to the whereabouts of any manuscript of the atelier in the fourteenth century.⁶⁴ The colophon, located in the right column of folio 244 (fig. 8),⁶⁵ specifies the date of April 1375 and commemorates the donation of land to the Church of the Theotokos of Brontochion by the Stratopedarchs Tzaousios and Akrokondilos, the Constables Akrokondilos and Georgitzopoulos, and Andronicus and Stamatios Akronkondilos. Regrettably, virtually nothing is known about any of these individuals.⁶⁶ The Tzaousios family was prominent in the Greek Peloponnesus in the late thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, and Bees hypothesized that, at some point, the family was linked by marriage to the Akrokondilos family.⁶⁷ The titles of “stratopedarch” and “constable,” however, are indicative of substantial prestige within the Byzantine hierarchy.⁶⁸

Fortunately, we are on firmer ground with regard to the religious foundation mentioned in the colophon. The Church of the Theotokos of Bron-

τίποτ(ες) ἀμή νά εἶναι τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου πάντοτε. ἐπιδομεν καί τῆς Πλακόπετρας τήν τοποθεσίαν ἀπὸ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω διὰ τοῦτο ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν γράμμα ἐν μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ ἐνδικτιῶνος ἐγ [= ιγ] ἐν ἔτους ζ ὦ π γ. Οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου [Τσ]α[ο]ῦ[σι]ος καὶ στρατοπεδάρχης οἱ Ἀκροκόνδυλοι, κοντόσταυλος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος κοντόσταυλος ὁ Γεωργιτζόπουλος, [Σ]ταμάτιος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Ἀκροκόνδυλος”

The scribe of the colophon cannot be identified with any of the manuscripts known to have come from Mistra in the third quarter of the 14th century. Cf. A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII and XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964), pls. 140, 142, 143, and 201; and *idem*, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (Urbana: 1972), I, 229–32; II, pls. 183–87.

⁶⁴ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 6 and note 21 (for further bibliography), write that in the fifteenth century V and Vat were in the possession of Carlotta, the last Lusignan queen of Cyprus and a Palaiologina on her mother's side. She gave the two manuscripts to Innocent VIII while in exile in Rome.

⁶⁵ Both C[ozza]-L[uzi], “Donazione,” 619, and Bees, *Διορθώσεις*, 241, incorrectly state that the colophon is located on fol. 222. The passage in the left column will be discussed below.

⁶⁶ F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, IV (Oxford, 1897), Nos. 16670–24330, pp. 307–8, notes a later colophon (15th-century?) of E. D. Clarke 37 (formerly 18398) which mentions that the manuscript was once in the possession of one Ὀνουφρίου Κασαρευτου τοῦ ἀκροκοντιλου (cited by the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, I (Vienna, 1976), 48, no. 515). Mention of one σεβαστοῦ τζαουσιου Γεωργιου τοῦ Πελεκάση is made in an inscription dated 1374/75 commemorating the restoration of a church of Saint George of Longanikos in Laconia. Cf. D. A. Zakythinos, “Une princesse française à la cour de Mistra au XIV^e siècle: Isabelle de Lusignan Cantacuzène,” *REG*, 49 (1936), 62.

⁶⁷ Bees, *Διορθώσεις*, 245.

⁶⁸ R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions Byzantines*, I (Berlin, 1967), 471, 502, and 512.

tochion is located in Mistra, the capital of the Byzantine dependency of the Greek Peloponnesus alternately known as the Morea.⁶⁹ The church was founded by the hegoumenos Daniel, in the late thirteenth century and completed before 1311/12 by his successor, Pachomius.⁷⁰ It flourished throughout the fourteenth century and became the object of many substantial donations by high functionaries. It is now famous primarily for its fresco cycle, which is generally regarded as one of the finest surviving examples of the late Byzantine style.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the territory of the Morea was considered important enough to have its leadership entrusted to the Despot Manuel Kantakouzenos, the second son of the Emperor John VI.⁷¹ Under Manuel, the province flourished and Mistra developed into a cultural center of surprising eminence.⁷²

One final facet of Vat. gr. 352 remains to be examined. In the left-hand column of folio 244 (i.e., on the same page as the colophon) there is a passage from the Gospel of Matthew (8:23–27) which is written in a hand that is probably contemporary with the manuscript itself although it does not share its archaizing style (fig. 8).⁷³ In a final effort to substantiate a connection between Theodora and the atelier this script was compared to that of Vat. gr. 1899—a manuscript of the *Orationes* of Aelius Aristides which was written and signed by Theodora.⁷⁴ At first glance the two scripts are similar in that both examples feature scripts which are small, cramped, and difficult to read. However, an examination of three different styles of Theodora's script in the introduction, main text, and commentary on folio 184 of Vat. gr. 1899 indicates that the passage in Vat. gr. 352 cannot be attributed to Theodora.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Bees, *Διορθώσεις*, 242; cf. also D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, I: *Histoire politique*, revised ed. (London, 1975), 94 ff.

⁷⁰ Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, II: *Vie et institutions* (Paris, 1953), 196 ff. and 296 ff.

⁷¹ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised ed. (New Brunswick, N. J., 1969), 527 ff., has adopted the proposal that the Morea did not actually comprise a Despotat and that Manuel's title of Despot was granted before his departure to the Morea and in unrelated circumstances. For further bibliography, cf. *ibid.*, 527, note 3.

⁷² A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire: 324–1453* (Madison, 1952), 639. Manuel's tenure in the Morea began in 1349 and extended to his death in 1380.

⁷³ Devreesse, *Biblioteca Vaticana* (*supra*, note 6), II, 35.

⁷⁴ Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani* (*supra*, note 63), 63 ff; and Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, 100 and note 30.

⁷⁵ Unpublished. It has recently come to the attention of the author that yet another manuscript has been designated a member of the atelier. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud gr. 90, a manuscript of the Homilies of St. Basil, has been assigned to

CONCLUSION

The first half of this paper sought to establish Vat. gr. 352 as the fourth Lectionary manuscript of the atelier of the "Palaiologina" through appropriate ornamental and paleographical comparisons with the three Lectionaries of the atelier and with exemplary manuscripts of both groups. A special relationship with the deluxe Lectionary edition of the group, Sinai 228 (C), was demonstrated through detailed correlations in the use and distribution of illuminated initials, the script, and

the ornamental headpieces on folio 1 of both manuscripts. An attempt to substantiate the proposed connection between Theodora and the atelier through an examination of the Menologium texts, and an analysis of the passage contained on folio 244 was, unfortunately, less helpful. One can only hope that at some point additional manuscripts will come to light and provide that long-sought link between patron and atelier.

The University of Chicago

APPENDIX

Rome, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. gr. 352

Content: Gospel Lectionary. 244 folios, 321 × 239 mm.
Writing system: two writing columns, 23 lines per page
Ruling type: Leroy 20C2 (Lake II, 4b)
Provenance: Church of the Theotokos of Brontochion, Mistra (1375)

Fol. 1 beginning of lessons from Gospel of John, with large rectangular headpiece extending across both columns
44 beginning of lessons from Gospel of Matthew,

with pylon headpiece in left-hand column
69 beginning of lessons from Gospel of Luke, with pylon headpiece in left-hand column
99 beginning of Saturday-Sunday lessons from the Gospel of Mark, with gold headband (pseudo-Kufic writing) in right-hand column
134^v beginning of readings for the Holy Passion
154^v beginning of readings for Good Friday
169^v beginning of the eleven morning Resurrection lessons
179 beginning of Menologium, with pylon headpiece in left-hand column

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the group by Prof. R. Nelson. Cf. *idem*, "Byzantine Miniatures at Oxford: CBM 1 and 2," to appear in *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines*.

69
 α: α:
ΕΑΡΧΗ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΧ
 ΑΓΓΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.
 ΕΑΒΕ ΤΟΝ Α, ΤΟΝ
 ΗΘΟΝ Ε ΤΟΝ Ε ΚΑ
 ΕΚ ΚΥΛΟΝ:
 Ω ΚΑΡΩ ΕΚΙΡΩ.
 ΗΘΟΝ Ε ΤΟΝ Ε ΚΑ
 ΠΡΟΒΑ ΟΥ Ε ΠΟΔΗ
 ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ. ΚΑΙ
 ΚΑΘΙΣΤΩΣ ΚΑΡΩΝ
 ΤΟ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΟ ΣΑΙ.
 ΜΑΘΗ. ΚΑΙ ΕΖΩΠΛΙ
 ΟΥΡ ΤΟ Ε ΤΗ ΕΚΙΔΩ
 ΧΕ ΑΙΤΟΥ, Ο ΤΙ ΟΥ Ε
 ΖΩΟΙΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΧΛΟΣ
 ΑΥΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΟΥ
 ΠΥΡΗΝ. ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣ
 ΧΩΝ ΠΡΕΒΑΘΑΙ
 ΜΟΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΡΑΦΤΟΥ.

3. Fol. 69, Beginning of the Lessons from Luke
Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. gr. 352

99
 ΚΑΡ ΠΟΥ ΑΙ ΡΗΑΙΤΟ
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥ ΤΟ ΚΑΡ ΠΟ
 ΦΕΡΟΜ. ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΡΕΙ
 ΑΥΤΟ. ΗΜΑ ΠΕΡΟΡΩ
 ΚΑΡ ΠΟΥ ΦΕΡΕΤΕ. Η
 ΑΜΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΡΕΙ ΟΙ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ
 ΛΑΦΕΚΑ ΟΥ ΜΗ. ΑΥ
 ΓΑΤΟ ΟΙ ΑΙΤΟΙ. ΚΑΙ Α
 ΟΥ ΜΗ. ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΡΕΙ
 ΤΟ ΕΚΕ ΜΑ ΟΥ ΔΥΑ
 ΤΑΙ ΚΑΡ ΠΟΥ ΦΕΡΕ
 ΑΦΙ ΔΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΑΡΜΗ
 ΑΥ ΜΗ. Η ΤΕ ΑΜΑ ΠΟ
 ΛΑ, ΟΥ ΤΩ ΟΥ ΔΕ
 ΑΜΕΣ. ΟΥ ΜΗ. ΟΥ
 ΜΟΙ ΜΗ ΤΟ ΔΥΟ
 ΕΙ ΜΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ
 ΑΜΕΣ ΤΑ ΚΛΗΜΑΤ.
 Ο ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΤ
 ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΤ
 ΦΕΡΕΙ ΚΑΡ ΠΟΥ ΤΟ
 ΧΩ. ΟΤΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΑΙ.

ΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ
 ΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΗ. ΔΑΜΑΝΕΙΣ
 ΑΥ ΜΗ. ΟΥ ΜΗ. ΕΙ ΜΗ
 ΔΕ ΖΩΟΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚ
 ΔΕ ΚΡΩ ΦΗ. ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΜΑ
 ΧΟΥ ΟΥ ΜΑ ΤΩ ΜΑΙΡΕ
 ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΦΡΟΝ ΟΥ ΜΑ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΙΤΑΙ. ΟΥ ΜΗ. Η
 ΟΥ ΜΗ. ΟΥ ΜΗ. ΤΑΡΜΑ
 ΤΑΜΟΥ ΟΥ ΜΗ. Η ΜΗ.
 ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ. ΤΟ ΑΙ
 ΣΙΣΤΟ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΑΙΡΕ
 ΑΜΗ.

ΚΕΒΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟ
 ΤΩΝ ΗΚΕ ΤΕΙΩΝ. ΚΑΙ
 ΤΟΝ ΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΕ ΓΑΛΟΦ
 ΘΕΙΟ ΔΩΡΟΝ.
 ΕΚ ΚΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ.
ΤΩ ΚΑΡΩ ΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΕΠΟΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΟΙΟ.

4. Fol. 99, Beginning of the Lessons from Mark

